

## LETTER VIII.

## TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

*Surrender of Napoleon. Short-lived triumph of John Bull. John's injustice in grudging to pay taxes. His disinterestedness. The Pitt System.*

Botley, 26 July, 1815.

MY LORD—At last, then, you have Napoleon in your power. That is to say, you have a composition of bones, skin, flesh and blood, warmed and kept alive by the vital principle; but this is all; and, whether this vital principle be now to be speedily extinguished, or the whole body be to remain a few years longer above ground, you have not the power, and you never will have the power, either to efface the memory of his deeds, or to destroy, or even to lessen, the effects of those deeds. A man is no more to be blamed for yielding to force, such as that which has come against Napoleon, than he is to be blamed for yielding to a thunder-bolt or a hurricane. You are, by some of our journalists, recommended to surrender Napoleon to Louis. By others, to imprison him for life. Do what you will, in this way; if you were to thumb-screw him, flog him, and, at last, cut him to mince-meat, you could do away not one jot of his military renown; his battles, his victories, his conquests, his mastership of all the old families of the continent, are recorded in a way never to be forgotten; they form a portion of the knowledge of mankind; they occupy a seat in all men's minds; and, as to his *fall*, why, we all fall at last; only the far greater part of us fall with little more noise than is occasioned by the fall of a bullock, whereas his fall is the subject of conversation amongst, and excites *strong feeling* of some sort or other in the breasts of, *all the people of the civilized world*. If the fame of all the other famous men that ever lived could be embodied into one mass, it would not equal his individual fame. He has excited more hatred, and more love, than all the other great men that have figured on

the stage of the world. The Prussians, with "*the HONEST old Marshal*," as our newspapers call him, at their head, may blow up the *bridge of Jena*; the Austrians may pull down the *column of Austerlitz*; and so on; but, they will do nothing to efface the memory of his valiant deeds, unless they can take out the *brains* of every human creature in the world; for all have heard of these deeds; all have felt their effects.

The baseness of those writers, who have the impudence to recommend you to treat Napoleon as a *criminal*, deserves some notice. They say, but they speak without authority, indeed, that he is to be *imprisoned for life*. And, under *what law*, I should be glad to know? If brought hither, or, if remaining in our ships, he can be considered only in the light of a *prisoner of war*. I defy any man to shew, that he can be considered in any other light; and, therefore, to treat him other than as a *prisoner of war* would be an act of injustice.

However, there may be opportunities to discuss this point hereafter. At present I have to speak to your Lordship upon the subject of the expectations, excited here by this event. The *COURIER* says: "*The play is over: let us go to supper.*" And this is the general opinion. When men have long been intent upon one single object: when they have long bent their minds to one sole wish, they are always disappointed in their expectations, because they have not given themselves time to think of the consequences to be produced by the means which they make use of to obtain the accomplishment of that wish. Thus will it be with *John Bull*, who has been made to believe, that, if Napoleon could but be gotten rid of, England would be freed from all the calamities which she feels; that she would once more come back to her former state; and that the visits of the taxing people would cease to be as frequent as those of the apothecary. Napoleon is actually our prisoner, but still the taxing people come.

"*The play*" may be over; but, oh!

no! we cannot "*go to supper.*" We have something to do. We have *forty-five millions a year for ever to pay for the play.* This is no pleasant thing. But, indeed, the play is *not over.* The *first act* is, perhaps, closed. But, that grand revolution, that bright star, which first burst forth in the year 1789, is still sending forth its light over the world. In that year feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny, ignorance, superstition, received the first heavy blow: they have since received others; and, in spite of all that can be now done in their favour, they are destined to perish.

This 22 years of war, has it been *to put down one man?* Have we sent hundreds of thousands to shed their blood, and have we loaded ourselves with endless burdens, to put down *one little Frenchman?* Have we all been paying the greater part of our incomes, for many years, for *this purpose?* No: we are *now beginning to be told*, it was not for this; it was for the purpose of putting down *French principles.* And, what were they? Why, those very principles, which are at this moment more firmly than ever rooted in the minds of Frenchmen, and more generally imbibed throughout Europe. The bridge of Jena, the column of Austerlitz, all the memorials of French triumph, brought from Amsterdam, Naples, Vienna, Rome, Turin, Madrid, Munich, Berlin, Moscow, and dearest *Hanover*: all these may be destroyed; but, never will the whole world, combined in arms, be able to destroy the effects of those principles, which sent the conquerors forth, which first warmed their hearts with enthusiasm, and which are now become part of the settled possessions of their minds.

Show me, in France, a priest with his relics, or his bottle of holy water, able to extract a *sous* for either, as a preservative against the fatal effects of thunder and lightning, except from some crazy or perverse old woman; and, then, I will say, that there is some hope of success against *French principles.* Five hundred industrious priests would do more against French principles than five hundred thousand bayonets. But, alas! the former have now *no materials to work on.* These precious materials, ignorance, superstition, and human degradation and misery, have been driven out by the Revolution. Perhaps there are not, at this day, a hundred farmers in all the vast and fine coun-

try, in which you now are, who, if it were translated, would believe in *Moore's Almanack* as to the weather; or that would believe a gypsy-thief endowed with the faculty of telling them the future events of their lives. Peace and tranquillity are very good things; but, if degrading ignorance, brutal superstition, and their constant associate, base slavery, are not to be gotten rid of without even the most terrible convulsions amongst a people, those convulsions are to be wished for. Such was the state of France, that the good of the people called for a terrible convulsion: it took place, and the French nation has to congratulate itself on the event.

Our writers are eternally reminding us of the *cruelties* committed, during the *French Revolution.* That revolution has now been going on for 25 years; and during the whole of this time, though many foreign armies, though so many domestic wars, have been assailing the revolutionists, so many cruelties have not been committed, as during *one single year* of the reign of Louis XIV. who committed his cruelties, too, in the name of religion. What are the sufferings of invasion? What are requisitions? What are military plunderings? These only last for a time. They bear no resemblance to the never-ending plunder and insult of domestic tyranny. The man of sense weighs very scrupulously the difference in the weight of evils. It is only the bawling, huzzaing slave that brags about *national glory*, while the nation, properly so called, are treated like beasts of burden.

*John Bull*, my Lord, who, as you well know, is no conjurer, is puzzled beyond conception at seeing, that troops, horses, cannon, powder, and ball, are still going off to the army upon the Continent, even *now*, when we have got *Napoleon.* This puts him in a strange pose. He was dancing and capering and singing and bawling for three or four days, to a degree that seemed to indicate, that he had forgotten all his own domestic affairs, and that even the *taxing people* had, for forty-eight hours, escaped from his recollection. But now, when he sees more troops going off, he does not know what to think. However, he consoles himself that the allies will "*now finish the job.*" The farmer's hope, that you will do something to prevent abundant harvests in France; the

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tradesmen that you will make things as dear as they are in England, to prevent their customers from emigrating; and there is another class, who, I dare say, are full as anxious, that you should re-establish tythes. How disappointed they will be! How short-lived will be their triumph! How they will stare at one another; how mutually insipid will be their talk, when they find, that the only real solid effect produced by this brilliant achievement, will be *an addition to their taxes!*

As to the *tradesmen*, however, there appears to be a plan in agitation for *forcing their customers to remain at home.* A Mr. THORNTON, a member of the *honourable House*, has given notice, that he shall propose a law for making all persons residing out of the country, pay a tax, during their absence, from which residents shall be *exempt.* Amongst all the novelties of the present age this will certainly be the most amusing. The "*machinery*," as the treasury calls it, of such a law will be a great curiosity in the fiscal science. In order to assess the tax, it must be *ascertained* that the party is gone out of the kingdom. And *how* is this to be done? How is the fact to be proved and recorded? Let me see. *John Bull, Esq.* lives at Bullock-Hall in the county of Hants, for instance. Timothy Touchem, the taxman, goes to his house to ask if he be in the United Kingdom. "*Yes,*" says the servant; but the servant tells a lie. How is Timothy to find that out? This will not do. There must, in the first place, be *furloughs* granted to those who want to reside abroad. They must receive these from the taxing people, or from the government. These furloughs must be *recorded in some office*, and must be produced to warrant the assessment of the tax. Without such *furlough* no captain of a vessel, no owner of a boat, must take any person aboard, under a heavy penalty in case of violation of the law. 'Squire Bull himself must be exposed to a heavy penalty if he attempt to go without a *furlough.* This furlough must be to him *outwards*, what a *permit* is to brandy *inwards*, or about the country. When he comes here he must *report himself*, as the military phrase is; must appear in person, and get a *certificate*, or *acquittance*, of some sort, to put a stop to the effects of the furlough. Then, again, *merchants*

may want to go abroad. They must produce *proofs* of their being merchants: another set of *oaths.* Next, Americans and others, who, being foreigners, will have a right to go away when they please. They must *prove* that they are foreigners: more *oaths.* Then the *person* must be *accurately described* in the furlough; or, who is to know whether the bearer be really 'Squire Bull, or some other. Then there must be punishment for *forging* furloughs: more *hangings!* If such a law should be passed, I suppose the furlough would be somewhat in the following form:

"JOHN BULL, of Bullock Hall, in the County of Hants, Esq. is hereby permitted to proceed to countries out of his Majesty's dominions, there to remain for calendar months from the date hereof; and that all masters of vessels and others may be able to know the said John Bull, Esq. a description of him here follows, to wit: 5 feet 8 inches and a half high; face round and full; eyes grey; eyebrows whitish; dark wig with short grey hair under it; nose hooked; mouth wide; lips thick; cheeks red; chin double; narrow shoulders; big belly; thick thighs and legs; clumped feet."

Another scheme, which I have heard talk of, is of a more *summary* sort, and nearly approaching to military discipline. It is this: that the taxing people, in their several districts and divisions, should send notices to all the taxed people within their boundaries, to appear personally before them at stated times and hours: once a month, for instance, and, in case of non-appearance, to make them pay the absentee's tax for three or four months. This would be a sort of *muster*, or *calling of the roll*, by an alphabetical list, which might indeed, easily be done by causing the parties to stand in ranks and files, placing the A's upon the right, and going on towards the left to the Z's.

This scheme would, indeed, save all the complex machinery of furloughs and certificates and penalties; but still, it would be inconvenient, in many respects, especially in London, where the assemblage would be so large. However, I dare say that this Mr. THORNTON has thought off all these matters; and, therefore, I will indulge no longer in speculation upon the subject, but wait patiently for his plan. Of one thing I am very sure,

and that is, that if people are permitted freely to go and live where they can avoid paying their share of the *fifty millions a year*, which the late wars have imposed upon us, they will avail themselves of such permission, unless they have profitable business which requires their presence here. France is the country to which they will go. It is not only the cheapest and the most pleasant as to climate, but the people are the only people on the Continent fit to live amongst.

I do not say that such a tax is likely to be imposed. It is too much to suppose, even in these days; but, what a state must we be in, when such a tax can be *seriously thought of*, and even *spoken of in parliament*? It is very true, that the country will severely feel the effects of migration. The temptation to shake off the taxes is not all. There is the temptation to *live better upon the same income*. Who does not prefer riding in a carriage to walking on foot? And who can be justly blamed for such preference? Who does not like to better their lot in this world? And what right has any man to say to another, "you shall remain here, and be compelled to buy your food and raiment of me?"

It is curious enough, that, before the French Revolution, we never heard any complaints of our rich people going to reside and spend their money in France. The *Times* Editor, who is a great advocate for plundering Paris of its statues and pictures, ascribes the universal desire to go to France to these things, and says, that when our people, and other foreigners, go thither, the Parisians *seduce* them, and make them *irreligious* and *disloyal*.—Therefore he would have the pictures and statues removed by all means. Now, I do not say, that nobody goes to Paris from this motive; but, for one that goes from *England* to France to look at pictures and statues, ten thousand go to drink wine, and to eat capons and turkeys, at little expence. It was computed, that there were 40,000 families there, before the return of Napoleon. Many of them had taken houses and other premises *for years*, and a great part of them have remained. They were not in search of pictures and statues; but of *good living at a cheap rate*.

Before the French Revolution, living was not much cheaper in France than in England. The reasons why it is so now,

are; first, because France has been rendered more productive by the driving out of the feudal lords and the priests, who laid their claws so unmercifully upon all the products of the earth. And next, by the increase of our taxes, which are, and must be, nearly five times as great as they were before that revolution. This is an evil; but, the country has no right to complain. It has enjoyed all the *glories* of the war; it has put up *thanksgiving* for its successes; in short, it is proud of the war; and it would be excessively unjust to complain of the taxes, which, as all the world knows, were the cause of those successes. When I hear a man grumble at the taxing people and their frequent and heavy calls upon him, and, the next moment, praise the subsidizing of the German armies to pour upon the French, I could freely spit in his face. There are some of the *Squires* who even grumble at having their wives eclipsed by those of the new and numerous *knights of the Bath*. They like the war, they shout at the victories, they grin and shew their teeth and hold their big round bellies with laughing at the proceedings of good "Old Blucher;" and yet they would part with nothing to purchase all these fine things. A monument! Aye, they would have a monument as big as the tower of Babel; but, the devil a penny would they pay towards the building of it.

When the *Times* and *Courier* are recommending the stripping of Paris of its works of art, and the pulling down of monuments of victory, they always observe in a very pointed manner, that *we* are quite *disinterested* in the matter; for, that the French have gained *no victories* over US; that they have been able to take nothing from us. This is *not true*. The French did gain victories over us at *Dunkirk* and the *Helder*, and they did this, too, without any body to *help* them. They have, to be sure, made conquests of no parts of these islands; but they conquered HANOVER, and they took away the *trophies* which they found there, and would have brought away the *plate*, had not the Duke of Cambridge, with laudable activity, baffled this part of their design. Let these writers, therefore, say no more about *disinterestedness* as to this matter. Besides, are we not, by the means of our Royal Family, *related* to Prussia, Brunswick, and the rest; and





do these scurvy writers not think that we ought to feel for them? Lord Grenville once said, that *Hanover* ought to be as dear to us as *Hampshire*. And yet we are quite *disinterested*! We have undergone no humiliations, though *Hanover* was conquered *even without a battle*, and though *Napoleon* ruled it for many years.

The *change of tone* in our news-papers, and, indeed, in the mass of the people, is well worthy of remark. Before the war began *Napoleon* was the sole object of abuse; or, at least, *he* and the *army*. Now *all France* is abused. *He* is now out of the question; and yet we hear of nothing but exhortations to cripple and dismember and ruin *France*. It is *now* the *French people*, who, we were told, were all, or, at least, a great majority of them, for the "*legitimate*" king, as goes the cant of the day. It was solely against *Napoleon* that we made war; but *now* we are to put it out of the power of the *French* to do us harm, *for a century*. Even the poor king does not escape the malice of these writers. They accuse him of *seeming to think* that the union of his people *will make him stronger against the allies*! Poor man! His situation is less enviable than when he was at *Ghent*, boasting of the numbers and valour of those allies. Monsieur *Chateaubriand* himself will soon become an object of abuse here, unless he hastens to write an ode, or some of his trash, in praise of Old *Blucher*, "the honest Old Marshal," the harbinger of the *Bourbons*. The *Royalists*, if they have any feeling but that of fiend-like malice left; if their souls are not quite absolved in malignity against the people who freed themselves from their grasp, must feel ashamed at being numbered amongst those who are now treading their country under foot. But, as to *dismemberment* as to *pictures* and *statues*, as to every thing else that can be named, that *Frenchman* is a fool, who does not prefer them to the ancient feudal and ecclesiastical tyranny.

The *army* is, according to these writers, to be *disbanded*. Better cut their throats at once; for, what is the use of *disbanding* that which can be, the next day, called together? There is nothing short of *actually killing* one half of the people of *France* that will answer the purpose that these malignant men have in view; and that cannot be done. The *Germans* must

go home again *some time or another*, and the fine country where they now are must and will prosper. They cannot eat *all* the things in *France*. They will have, according to our news-paper accounts, a pretty good cramming; but they cannot eat all up. They cannot eat the ground and the fine sun-shine. They will go back with reluctance, but go they must.

And, my Lord, what is to be done *then*? What will the *Pitt* system *then* have accomplished? It will have put *Napoleon* in a state to be insulted by our writers of news-papers and their like. But, he was not known when the *Pitt* system of war began, and not for years afterwards. It will have *restored the Bourbons*. It will, indeed, have carried back some men of that name; but, it will have restored no part of the *Bourbon government*. It will not have put the feudal lords in possession of their courts and their power, nor will it have restored the Monks and Priests to their power and their tythes. If, in the year 1793, *Pitt*, in one of his flashy, sonorous speeches, had said: "Let us go hastily into the war; for, at the end of 22 years, by expending six hundred millions raised within the year, and by loading the nation with forty or fifty millions a-year for ever after, we shall certainly succeed in restoring the House of *Bourbon*:" if *Pitt* had, at that time, said this, how the Honourable House would have stared at him! And yet, even this has not *yet* been done. With half a million of foreign troops in *France* the *Bourbons* are not restored. Not half of *France* yet acknowledge their sway; and, when all *France* shall acknowledge their sway, that sway will not, in fact, be the *sway of the Bourbons*. The truth is, that we have, in the course of this long war, lost sight of its origin. We now rejoice at a result, which, at the outset, we should have deplored. We now feel happy to have *lost all but our lives*. We have been, of late years, so terrified, that we have thought nothing of our property. If *Pitt* had said, I must have a tenth of your incomes through the war and even after the peace; I must have a Corn Bill to enable the farmers to pay their taxes; I must load you and your children for ever with four or five times the taxes you now pay; I must have, by way of incident, a war with *America*, which will create a fleet

and manufactures in that country ; I must see that republic with ten millions of people, and with a most gallant and no very small navy : all this must be before I accomplish my restoration of the Bourbons : if Pitt had said this, would he have got many votes for the war ? How gladly would we be just where we were in 1793, and see France what she then was ! There are very few men, indeed, who would not wish this. But, the wish is vain. The injuries we can, with all our subsidized armies, inflict upon the French people, will be of short duration : those which we have inflicted on ourselves will last for ages, or will more speedily terminate after some great convulsion. The wasp can give great torment, for a while, to much larger and more powerful animals than itself : but, by the very act, it loses its power to sting for ever after, and gives itself a wound which finally causes its own death.

Our news-writers and their stupid pupils talk of nothing but the *defeats* and *humiliations*, which they would make the world believe the French nation have experienced and are now experiencing. But, let them show one single instance, in which the French have been defeated by any *one nation*, or by any *two nations* ; let them shew one nation, in all Europe, whose armies have not, upon one or more occasions, been defeated by the French ; let them name one single sovereign upon the Continent who has not been compelled to bow to the French ; let them shew one nation who has made so gallant a defence against its invaders ; and then they may hope to persuade the world that France has been defeated and humbled. If four men each nearly as strong as yourself, aided by half a dozen weaker men, were to attack you, and that too, when you were badly armed and had one of your hands tied up, would you call it *defeat*, if they were to succeed in laying you under contribution ? Would you think yourself *humiliated* ? The whole world, and especially the French people, know well the history of these events. They know, that all the armed men in Europe, and all the treasures of Europe, have been employed in this invasion of France. They know that, according to your own statement, a *million of disciplined soldiers* have been sent against her, and that too, in the cause of her "*legitimate*" king, as he is

called, who, it was asserted, had more than half France with him. And is it, then, for us to pretend, that France has been *humbled* ? Do the Americans regard the burnings at Washington, the plundering at Alexandria, the acts at Frenchtown, at Hampton, and numerous other places, as *humiliating* to them ? No : nor does the world so regard them. For the moment, an irresistible force triumphed ; but, when pitted man to man, or ship to ship, the Americans had no defeat to deplore, or to humble them in their own estimation or in that of the world. Our triumph over the French is like the triumph of our *squadron* over the American *frigate*. When a man has been writing and publishing upon the subject of religion, for instance ; and when the only *answer* which his work receives, consists of a prosecution by the Attorney General *ex-officio* ; a verdict of guilty by a Special Jury, and a sentence of fine and imprisonment by the Judges ; such a man is said to have been *beaten* ; such a man is said to have been *defeated* ; his antagonists gain a *triumph* over him. But does such a man feel *humbled* ? Do the world look upon him as *humbled* ? Is he ashamed to look his friends in the face ? The pensioned BURKE having written a book against the French revolution, was *answered* by PAINE. That is to say, PAINE answered him with a *pen*. The pensioned BURKE did not attempt to return the blow in the same way, but pointed out his antagonist to the *Attorney General*, who prosecuted him, and the effects of which prosecution he avoided by *flying from the Country*. In this way PAINE was *beaten* ; in this way BURKE *triumphed* ; but was PAINE *humbled* ? Did the world look upon him as having suffered *humiliation* ? A base and corrupt court aided by a bloody Judge and a packed Jury, *triumphed* over SIDNEY. They answered his writings : they replied for FILMER by *chopping off Sidney's head*. But, was Sidney *humbled* in the eyes of the world ?

And, what do these writers promise us, as the effects of these mighty doings ? What advantage do they tell us *we* are to derive from them ? We are to secure *safety*, it seems ; that is to say, we are not to be *killed*, I suppose ; for, they do not pretend, that these victories will lessen the demands upon the fruits of our property or labour. And, have we

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gained, at last, the mighty advantage of being secure against being *killed*? Is the great *monument* to record that we have gained this security? In justice it ought also to record the *cost* of this achievement. It ought to record the numbers of paupers created by the war, and the increase of misery and of crimes, during the same period. At the very moment that I am writing, I see in the *TIMES* newspaper of the 24th inst., the following passage:—“Some idea of the extent of emigration from Ireland may be formed from the following extract of a private letter, dated St. John’s, Newfoundland, 23d of last month:—“The arrivals from Ireland have exceeded any in the Custom-house books; exclusive of three vessels which have made no returns, are 3,026 men and 373 women to this harbour alone; but the numbers far exceed the returns, the Captains having brought out so many they are ashamed to return them. The wretched creatures are most dreadfully treated on the passage, one man declared to me, he was but three nights below decks the entire of the voyage, nor could he get down. Strange complaints have been made by a set of wretches who came yesterday, of the very nearly starving condition they were in; indeed Government must put a stop to such proceedings, or really a contagion will be bred in our streets, and what will become of them in winter God only knows.” This is a matter of much greater consequence than are the pictures and statues at Paris. Such poor creatures think little about the great intended *monument*. They, as well as those who go to other of our American possessions, at last find their way to the United States; they augment the population, the produce, and the power of that country. It is a fact worthy of remark that we have never heard of any such emigrations from France. Her emigrants have consisted of feudal lords and priests, the *consumers*, not the *creators*, of the products of the earth. The people do not migrate from France any more than they do from America. England, Scotland, Ireland and Germany are the countries from which men go to clear the lands and to add to the power of the Republic. These facts are of far greater consequence, in the mind of a real statesman, than are the disputes even about the division of territory in Europe. When *peace*, at last

comes (and come it must), it will soon be seen which are the countries that have gained by the war. Never will this kingdom be what it was in 1792. Since that time France has been changed into a country inviting to the rich of England; and America has risen into a great and powerful nation. A few years of peace will double the resources of the latter, and will greatly augment those of the former. The *Edict of Nantes* and the other cruelties of Louis XIV. sent the arts and population of France into Germany and England. The burdens, the crippling effects, which this war will leave behind it, bid fair to send the arts and the labour of England, Scotland and Ireland to fertilize and enrich France and America. It is in peace that we shall feel the effects of the war, as the patient feels the evils of a fever after it is passed. What a *langour* did the country feel from July 1814 to March 1815! People wondered that peace and the Bourbons had brought such a death-like state of existence; and, if peace with America had taken place at the same time, this wonder would have been increased. The time, however, cannot now be far distant, when experience will supply the place of speculation. I am, &c. WM. COBBETT.

#### TO THE RIGHT HON. H. GRATTAN.

SIR—Your most sanguine wishes are now gratified: all, and much more than all, you hoped for, has been effected by a single battle, which has included, in the space of one short week, the events of an age. The French army is subdued; Napoleon has surrendered himself to the honour of the British nation; and Louis the desired has recovered the palace of his ancestors.

With a presumption, which my friends could hardly pardon, I raised my feeble voice in opposition to the general cry. The carnage and devastation which I deprecated have taken place, and future historians will no doubt do justice to the principles of the contending powers. But amid this uproar, and in the intoxication of success, I suspect that you, and the rash majority to which you have newly attached yourself, experience some misgivings. The mischief is done. Thousands and tens of thousands, are bewailing the immediate consequences of this bloody catastrophe: the raging disease of taxation

will proceed among us in this nation with aggravated fury; and that country, whose hospitality you have so lately experienced, which might have been "as the garden of Eden," is likely to become a scene of desolation. These are the natural and necessary results of the measures you uphold; and, as they must have been taken into your calculation, you probably view them with philosophic complacency. In my former address, I enquired of you how many campaigns it might require to replace France in a condition to offer such a peace as she then offered in vain. Now that another hecatomb of lives has been sacrificed, and another hundred millions added to our burthens, I ask you the same question.

The destruction of armies, and the devastation of the fair face of nature, tend most powerfully, and I exult in the thought, to establish the principles of freedom, against which you combat. Hence the misgivings you experience in the midst of your success. The iniquity of that system which has so long oppressed the world, is more and more developed by the ensanguined fury of its supporters; and the misery which France is now doomed to endure, and the misery to be endured by other nations in inflicting it, will, I trust, eventually serve the cause of man. For, notwithstanding the temporary aberrations which are produced by the influence of passing events, the course of intellect is onward, and no earthly power can arrest it. Look into our own history; a short chapter in the grand volume of human records; there we shall see the principles of civil and religious liberty making their way, age after age, in spite of all obstructions; shining brightly, and then obscured for a time, only to break out again with increasing splendour, whilst the very efforts that were made for the support of tyranny and superstition have operated most regularly to their destruction. The savage bigotry of Mary extirpated the remains of papal influence; and the despotism of the Stuarts gave a death blow to the indefeasible claims of monarchy: thus were the iron sceptres broken by the hands which wielded them. And, could we turn over one page in advance, we might possibly see the sceptre of gold, under which we now groan, fall from the grasp that seems at present to have so firm a hold. So there is hope even in calamity.

As you, Sir, are a public man, and I am of that public, whom, in your legislative character you profess to represent, I make no apology for thus performing what I conceive to be a duty. In the cause of humanity, the most humble individual has a voice; and, unless he exerts it he betrays his trust. I am, &c. &c.

M. BIRKBECK.

Wanborough, July 23, 1815.

#### THE BOROUGH SYSTEM.

SIR,—I know you are one of the many who have long been a strenuous advocate for a Reform in Parliament; and as the cant term of the strenuous advocates of corruption has been "now is not the time," whenever called on to restore to us our liberties, I think, after the struggle for the Pension for the Duke of Cumberland, they never will have the assurance to tell us again "now is not the time." Look over the list of the voters for the measure on that occasion, and consult the red book, and then let us know if *now* is not the time to do away the detestable Borough Monger Faction. I perceive that the county of Berks has set the example of remonstrating with one of their Representatives, for not appearing in his place to vote against the pension, and I hope it will be followed generally, for no one can venture to say the measure was so hurried through that he could not be aware of the danger. There were some men of conscience, indeed, who declared that they would oppose the grant in every stage. Several very strong letters have appeared in the Reading Mercury, none of which has the Representative himself yet replied to; but, it appears there have been paragraphs inserted which were intended to persuade the freeholders that the health of the Member was not such as permitted him to go up to Parliament. However, it is now said by some, that no such *excuse* is authorized by him; yet they are told by others that such really was the case. If so, it is somewhat singular that the Member in question (who, I believe, *professes* to be a Whig), does not come forward himself and declare the truth! But no, they do not hear from him any apology whatever; but are told the fact is so. Some



who have been so impertinent as to enquire, still declare the fact is *not so*; nor will they believe otherwise unless the Member himself declares it. It is stated in a paragraph, in one of the Reading Papers, that satisfaction will be given to the freeholders if they will apply for it by *name*. Now, Mr. Cobbett, hopeless indeed is the cause of reform if a freeholder, whose interest is neglected by his Representative, is to run the risque of ruin, probably, for urging his complaint. Will the county of Berks submit to such an insult? Are the Freeholders not at liberty to ask a plain question of their Representative without being subject to the risque of a ball in the thorax, or the persecution of a man in authority? Is it a mode tolerable to the freeholders to be told, by an *unauthorised* person, that if they will come forward and give in their names, they shall be satisfied, and that next time the question is urged in Parliament, their Representative will *oppose* the grant, or, in order to get rid of the business, which I dare say is unpleasant enough to the member, that his health is very bad, and to be quiet and he will resign if it is not better; and all this while the Member himself is silent? Is this fair play to the freeholders of the County of Berks? Degenerate indeed are they become, if they tacitly submit to such contempt. The matter rests solely on this: will the Member come forward or not, and declare, on his honour, that his health was so very bad he could not appear in his place to oppose the grant? or will he *suffer* paragraphs, unauthorized by him, to be inserted, insinuating his health was so, if it was not so? If he does, he becomes an accessory to the fact to all intents and purposes. If he has justifiable reasons for the alleged neglect, why does he not give them? I confess I should, was I myself a Member of Parliament, feel happy to reply to any freeholder in the County I represented. There are times when Representatives can *ask questions* of them without *knowing their names*. So let them reply then. I perceive *Whigs*, like all other perishable commodities, lose their beauty by neglect of dressing frequently if wanted. I, therefore, hope this dressing will renovate this Whig, and make him as staunch a Whig in future as your humble Servant, a Whig, not without

A TALE.

## NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

(OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.)

*Admiralty-Office, July 25.*

Extract of a letter from Captain Maitland, of his Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated in Basque-roads, the 14th instant.

For the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I have to acquaint you that the Count Las Cases and General Allemand, this day came on board his Majesty's ship under my command, with a proposal for me to receive on board Napoleon Bonaparte, for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. Conceiving myself authorised by their Lordship's secret order, I have acceded to the proposal, and he is to embark on board this ship to-morrow morning.— That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to the Count Las Cases, that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; but that all I can do is to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as his Royal Highness may deem expedient.

REPORT PRESENTED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER OF MARINE, BY THE CAPTAIN OF THE FRIGATE, DE RIGNY, SENT ON A MISSION TO ROCHEFORT.

On reaching this port, on the 18th inst. I learnt that Napoleon Bonaparte had sailed for England in his Britannic Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, Captain Maitland, the 16th July, at half past two P. M. My instructions ordering me to hold an official communication on that head with Admiral Hotham, commanding on the English station, I hastened to write to him, enclosing, at the same time, dispatches from Mr. Croker, Secretary of the British Admiralty, of which I was the bearer. It results from the different communications which I have had with the English Admiral and the Maritime Prefect, that Napoleon having reached Rochefort on the 3d, had established himself at the Prefecture until the 8th. Pressed by General Becker, who had been charged to escort him until he should be embarked, and by Baron Bonnefoux, Maritime Prefect, to profit by all the opportunities which wind and time presented, he at last resolved to embark in the boats which waited for him at every tide, and went on board the *Saal* at ten o'clock at night, and caused his suite to be divided between that frigate and the *Medusa*. The next day, the 9th, he landed on the Isle of Aix, and inspected its fortifications. The 10th, the

wind was favourable for sailing, but the English cruisers and the moon-light left but little hope that the frigates should escape. Between the 10th and 11th, Napoleon sent Generals Savary and Las Cases in a flag of truce on board the English ship, *Bellerophon*. This flag of truce returned on the 11th. Between the 11th and 12th, Napoleon learnt from his brother Joseph the dissolution of the Chambers and the entry of the King at Paris. Until that moment Bonaparte had frequently expressed his opinion that the Chambers would recall him, whether he wished to overawe the authorities by whom he was surrounded, or perhaps he really entertained such hopes. —The 12th, he landed on the island of Aix with his suit and baggage, and in the night between the 12th and 13th two boats with decks repaired to him from La Rochelle. It appears that Napoleon had caused them to be purchased with the intention of embarking in them, and endeavouring to gain, under the shelter of night, a Danish smack, with which it is supposed he had treated, and which was to wait for him 30 or 40 leagues off that sea. It is not known why he did not avail himself of these dispositions, but probably they appeared to him too hazardous. During the night of the 13th to the 14th, he went on board the French brig *l'Epervier*, and on the 14th, in the evening, General Becker, who had been with a flag of truce to the English station, having returned, Napoleon caused his suite and his baggage to be embarked on board *l'Epervier*. The 15th, in the morning, that vessel was descried sailing as a flag of truce towards the English Admiral. The state of the sea, not allowing her to make a rapid way, English embarkations came to meet her, and conveyed the passengers on board the *Bellerophon*. On this occasion Lieut. Jourdan, who commanded *l'Epervier* thought it his duty to ask, and obtained from the Captain of the *Bellerophon*, a written attestation of the transfer of Bonaparte to his ship. The same day an English frigate sailed for England. The 16th the *Bellerophon* set sail at half-past 12, p. m. The weakness and the direction of the wind which has since prevailed, does not allow a supposition that she should reach the English coast before the night of the 19th to the 20th.

(The rest of the report then merely states, that on the 17th the white flag was hoisted at Rochefort on the forts, and on board the vessels in the port, without any opposition.)

EXTRACT FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE  
MARITIME PREFECT OF ROCHEFORT.

July 13.

The following have been embarked on board

the *Bellerophon*, together with NAPOLEON BONAPARTE:—

Lieutenant-Gen. Count BERTRAND, Grand Master of the Palace.

The Countess BERTRAND and three children.

Lieutenant-General the Duke of ROVIGO.

Lieutenant-General LALLEMAND.

Mareschal-de-Camp, SEMERVILLE.

Count de LAS CASSES.

M. de RESIGNY, Chef d'Escadron.

M. PLANAT, ditto.

Lieutenant AUTRIC, of the Ordnance.

M. SCHULTZ, Chief d'Escadron.

Captain POINTKORSKI.

Captain MERCHER.

M. MAINGAULT, personal Surgeon of NAPOLEON.

Besides these, 40 other persons were embarked, as constituting the suite of BONAPARTE.

NAPOLEON'S LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS—A prey to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have ended my political career; and, like Themistocles, I seek an asylum among a foreign people. I place myself under the Protection of British laws, which I invoke from your Royal Highness, the most powerful, the most determined, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

These are all the official documents which have been published respecting this extraordinary occurrence. Our newspapers, as usual, have teemed with stories about Napoleon since he embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, the greater part of which, I am persuaded, is entirely false, and even where we have any thing possessing the appearance of truth, is, more than probable, founded in conjecture, or report, more than in the personal knowledge of the relator. The following statement, which has appeared in most of our newspapers, seems as probable as any other. If the particulars are not altogether correct, they are, at least, interesting:—

*H. M. Ship Bellerophon, July 24.*

On the 16th of this month, a flag of truce arrived from Aix Roads (where there were lying two frigates, two corvettes, and a brig, which we were blockading) having on board the noted Savary, Duc de Rovigo; and the Count de Las Cases, Chamberlain to Napoleon; the object of



whose mission was to procure leave for Napoleon and his suite to proceed to America in one of the frigates, or in a merchantman, if that could not be allowed. This was immediately refused by Captain Maitland, notwithstanding Savary threw out a hint of the probability of the French squadron coming out and forcing their passage. We had, previously to this, been very actively employed with the squadron under Captain Maitland's command, in forming a most strict blockade before the ports of Bourdeaux, Basque Roads, and all the passages leading from it, and now, if possible, the Captain's exertions were doubled. He proceeded with this ship and the *Myrmidon*, and anchored just out of gun-shot of the Isle d'Aix; stationed the *Cyrus* off the Petit Breton Passage, the *Daphne* off the Marmazon Passage, the *Erne* and *Larne* off Bourdeaux, the *Cephalus* off the Nemissian Passage, the *Endymion* twenty leagues in the offing, while, with this ship and the *Myrmidon*, sometimes at anchor, and sometimes cruising between the two Light Houses, one on the Isle de Rhe, (Tour de Balaines) and the Casseron Light on the Isle d'Oleron, and the *Slaney* outside, (all placed with such judgment as to be able to communicate intelligence from one to the other in a very short time), he completely hermetically sealed the ports in such a manner, that it was impossible for any vessel to escape us. Captain Maitland having been an old cruizer here, was intimately well acquainted with every passage; and I never saw a man so indefatigable and zealous in his exertions, or whose judgment was so correct in the steps which he took with the small force under his command, to prevent the possibility of Napoleon's escape. We were kept constantly cleared and ready for action, night and day, and only the hammocks of the watch allowed below at a time. On the 14th, while at anchor about three miles from the enemy's frigates, we perceived a flag of truce again in the morning, on board of which were the aforesaid De Lascases, and Lient.-Gen. Count L'Allemand, Aide-de-camp to Napoleon. After being some hours on board they departed, and then we learned, that probably we should have the satisfaction of receiving the Ex-Emperor. In the evening another flag of truce came out, on board of which were De Lascases and General Gorgand, also Aid-de-Camp to Napoleon, with two of his pages, and part of his baggage. We now became pretty certain of seeing him. Captain Maitland dispatched the *Slaney* immediately with this important intelligence, and with General Gorgand on board, with a letter from Napoleon to the Prince Regent direct to England. The following

morning at day light, we perceived a brig and a schooner working out of Aix Roads. The Captain dispatched the boats to them, and in the space of an hour the First Lieutenant Mr. Mott, returned in the barge, accompanied by the "once great Ruler of Half the World," with Lient. General Count Bertrand, Savary (the Duc de Rovigo), General Count Montholon, and the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon. When he came on the quarter deck, he said, in a firm and certainly dignified manner, in French, to Captain Maitland,—"I come to claim the protection of your Prince and of your Laws."

I observed his person particularly, and can describe him thus: he is about five feet seven inches in height, very strongly made, and well proportioned; very broad and deep chest; legs and thighs proportioned with great symmetry and strength, a small, round, and handsome foot. His countenance is sallow, and as it were deeply tinged by hot climates; but the most commanding air I ever saw. His eyes grey, and the most piercing that you can imagine. His glance, you fancy, searches into your inmost thoughts. His hair dark brown, and no appearance of grey. His features are handsome now, and when younger he must have been a very handsome man. He is rather fat, and his belly protuberant, but he appears active notwithstanding. His step and demeanour altogether commanding. He looks about 45 or 46 years of age. He is extremely curious, and never passes any thing remarkable in the ship without immediately demanding its use, and inquiring minutely into the manner thereof. He also stops and asks the officers divers questions relative to the time they have been in the service, what actions, &c.; and he caused all of us to be introduced to him the first day he came on board. He has also asked several questions about the marines, particularly those who appeared to have been some time in the service, and about the warrant officers, midshipmen, seamen, &c. He was but a very short time on board when he asked that the boatswain might be sent for, in order that he might look at him, and was very inquisitive as to the nature of his duty. He dresses in green uniform, with red facings, and edged with red, two plain gold epaulettes, the lappels of the coat cut round and turned back, white waistcoat and breeches, and military boots and spurs, the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour on his left breast. He professes his intention (if he is allowed to reside in England) to adopt the English customs and manners, and declares that he will never meddle with politics more. The army which left Paris, and united with others on the Loire, wanted him to

join them and resume his title, which he refused to do. He declares that not another "*goutte de sang*" shall be shed on his account. Fortunate, indeed, it would have been if he really had been of this opinion some years back.

His followers still treat him with the greatest respect, not one of them, not even the Duke of Rovigo himself, ever speaking to him without being uncovered the whole time. He does not appear out until about half past ten, though he rises about seven. He breakfasts in the French fashion at eleven, and dines at six. He spends most of the day alone in the after-cabin, and reads a great deal. He retires to bed about eight. He has not latterly been much on the quarter deck. His suite is composed of fifty persons. General Bertrand appears to be a fine and faithful soldier. He has never abandoned Napoleon in his adversity or prosperity. He was at Elba with him, and, I believe, intends accompanying him (if permitted) wherever his destination may be. It was this officer who constructed the bridge over the Danube, from the Isle de Lobau, which saved the French army after the battle of Asperne. Madame Bertrand, I believe, was born in Martinique of Irish parents, and her maiden name was Dillon. She is extremely pleasant and affable, and greatly attached to Napoleon's interests. The Duc de Rovigo is a fine looking man, about 50, with a countenance expressive of superior talents. De Lascases is a little fellow, about 5 feet 1 inch, very clever. He is the author of the Historical Atlas, which I suppose you have seen. L'Allemand is considered an excellent officer, and commanded the light infantry of the Imperial Guard in the battle of Waterloo.

#### FRANCE.

##### ORDINANCE OF THE KING.—LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, &c. The law of the 21st of October, 1814, authorised the Director-General of the Book trade, and the Prefects of Departments, to watch the publication of works of 20 sheets and under; but we have ascertained that this restriction of the liberty of the press occasioned greater inconveniences than advantages, and we have therefore resolved to remove it entirely, depending on the zeal of our magistrates for the prosecution and repression, in conformity to the laws, offences which may be committed by those who shall attempt to abuse this full and entire

liberty. For these causes we have declared, and do declare, ordained, and do ordain as follows:

Art. 1. Our Director-General of Bookselling, and our Prefects, shall not exercise the privilege given them by arts. 3, 4, and 6 of the law of the 21st Oct. 1814.

2. All the other enactments of the law of the 21st Oct. shall be executed according to their form and tenour.

3. Provisionally, and until a law shall have regulated the prosecution of offences of the press our prefects and attorneys shall put in execution the existing enactments of the penal code against this species of offence.

4. Our Ministers of Justice, of the Interior, and of Police, are charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

Given at our Palace of the Thuilleries, this 20th of July, 1815, and in the 21st year of our reign.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

Another ordinance of the King recalls the powers which his Majesty, or the Princes of his blood had given to extraordinary Commissioners in different part of France, lest they should clash with the functions of the Ministers whom the King had chosen.

A third ordinance states in the preamble that the number of Officers of the Army are out of all proportion with the organization on a peace footing; that the exhausted state of the finances is such as to make it an imperious duty to adopt every measure of economy, consistent with the real wants of the State; and it decrees, that as a number of officers of every rank will be disposable in consequence of the new organization of the army, and wishing to call them as promptly as possible to titular employments, no proposition whatever shall be made by the Minister at War, either for nominations to office, or advancement of rank in the army, till the 1st of July, 1816.

A fourth ordinance relates to the Electoral Colleges. It states the importance of the Deputies being named by such a number of electors as may give to their election the necessary character of regularity; and in consequence of the power given to Government by article 27th of the Act of the 16th Thermidor, year 10 (4th Aug. 1802), it declares that the Prefects of the Departments are authorised to add to the Electoral Colleges, twenty Members for each College; ten among the thirty who pay the highest contributions, if they are not already Electors, and the ten others from those subjects who have per-



dered services to the State. The Prefects are also authorised to add to every *College d'Arrondissement* ten Members, taken from the subjects who rendered similar services.

ADDRESS TO THE KING BY THE ARMY OF THE  
LOIRE.

SIRE—The army, unanimous in its views and affections, in order to be brought to a free and simple submission to your Majesty's Government, has no need either of receiving any private impulse, or of altering its spirit or sentiments; it is enough for it to consult the sentiments that have animated it under all circumstances, and the spirit which guided it during the last twenty-five years of political storms. Its opinions, its acts, the conduct of each of its members, always had for their actuating cause that love of country, ardent, deep, exclusive, capable of every effort, of every sacrifice, respectable even in its errors and wanderings, which at all times commanded the esteem of Europe, and which secures to us that of posterity. The generals, the officers, and the soldiers, who now surround their colours, and who are attached to them with the greatest constancy and love, even when they are most unfortunate, are not men who can be accused of regretting private advantages. To other thoughts, therefore, to motives more dignified and noble must be ascribed the silence which the army has hitherto kept. From the lowest soldier to the officer of highest rank, the French army numbers in its ranks only citizens, sons, fathers of citizens; it is intimately connected with the nation; it cannot separate its cause from that of the French people; it adopts with them, it adopts sincerely the government of your Majesty; it will cause the happiness of France by generous and complete oblivion of all that has past, by effacing every trace of dissension, by respecting the rights of all. Convinced of this truth, full of respect and confidence in the sentiments expressed by your Majesty, the army swears to you, with entire submission, a fidelity, proof against all trial; it will shed its blood in fulfilment of the oaths which it this day pronounces to defend the King and France.

[Here follow the signatures.]

Head-quarters, near Orleans, July 14, 1815.

(A true Copy) The Prince of ECKMÜHL,  
Marshal of France, commanding the  
Armies of the Loire and the Pyrenees.

ADDRESS OF THE PRINCE ECKMÜHL TO THE  
ARMY.

It is for you, Soldiers, to render this submission complete by your obedience—hoist the white flag and cockade. I know that I am asking of you a great sacrifice. We have all stuck to the colours we are now resigning for the last twenty-five years; but the sacrifice is commanded by the interests of our country. I am incapable, Soldiers, of giving you an order which should not be founded on those sentiments, or which should be contrary to honour. In the last year, under similar circumstances, a change having taken place in the Government of our country. I defended Hamburg and Harburg to the last moment in the name of Louis XVIII. listening to nothing then, as I do now, but the interest of our country. All my countrymen applauded my conduct—a fine army was preserved to France: not a single soldier deserted from the ranks; knowing that he is bound to serve his country, whatever may be its form of government; and that the army cannot be a deliberative body.—Soldiers, continue the same conduct; defend our unfortunate country in the name of Louis XVIII. This Monarch and all our countrymen will give us credit for it. We shall make a common cause with those brave Vandéans who have just given us an affecting example, by declaring that they will unite with us to fight against the enemies of France; and you will have, besides, preserved to the country a numerous and brave army. I expect from you the same spirit of discipline of which you have given proofs since your departure from Paris.

The Marshal Commander in Chief of the  
Armies of the Loire and the Pyrenees.  
The Prince of ECKMÜHL.

PROCLAMATION OF PRINCE BLUCHER ON EN-  
TERING FRANCE.

The Field Marshal Prince Blucher to Messrs. the Administrators of the Departments, which will be occupied by the Prussian army which has entered France, to maintain the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814.—Gentlemen, I inform you, that I have appointed persons worthy of my confidence for the administration of the departments through which I shall pass, having entered France to maintain the treaty of Paris, I have given these persons sufficient power to make their authority respected; and I invite you, gentlemen, in so far as depends upon you, to assist them in every thing relating to the interest

and tranquillity of the country. The persons whom I have chosen, not only possess the public esteem and my confidence, but they are thoroughly acquainted with that part of France through which I shall pass. The power I entrust to them embraces the collective civil and financial administration. I shall see that my soldiers commit no excesses. I have published an order of the day, which forbids plundering under pain of death. I shall make war only against Bonaparte and his accomplices. The peasant shall not have to complain of my army. Those only shall feel the burthens of the war, who by their violation of their faith and their oaths, have brought us to the frontiers of France. For the support of my army, magazines shall be formed, and these shall be filled by requisitions, which shall be immediately paid in bons, or assignments upon the treasury of France, which bons are guaranteed by my army. These bons shall be taken in payment of the property belonging to the principal adherents of Bonaparte, which I shall confiscate, and which will be sold without delay. In the purchase of this property no other kind of payment shall be received, and only Frenchmen can be purchasers. This property shall be taken not only from those who follow Bonaparte as soldiers or National Guards, but also from those who support him in their counsels or influence. All soldiers and other persons who follow Bonaparte shall be summoned to return to their homes within a fortnight, otherwise their property will be declared national property, and immediately sold. These bons will be given in payment for all articles which the army may stand in need of. Those bons which are not employed in the purchase of confiscated property, shall be reimbursed after the war. In informing you, Gentlemen, of my sentiments, I wish you to publish them to your fellow-citizens, that they may know for what purpose the allied armies appear again in France. Destroy the opinion which the counsellors of Napoleon have spread; we come only to deliver the French from the most disgraceful yoke, and to fulfil the Treaty of Paris in every thing that concerns their rights and liberties.

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LETTER FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PARIS,  
JULY 5.

Counsellor Ribbentrop is named by Prince Blücher General Intendant of the occupied Pro-

vinces. He is the central point of the administration of the Interior, the Finances, Justice, Public Worship, the Police, the Superintendence of the Public Prints, &c. The natives who have remained true to the good cause will be especially advanced, and the Prefects and Mayors who since Bonaparte's return have been placed as his especial friends, will be arrested, and their property sequestered. The inhabitants are to be disarmed. All those inhabitants who have been hitherto in arms, and do not return home in eight days, expose themselves to the loss of their property. This sequestered property forms the military fund, and is designed to indemnify the other inhabitants for the damage sustained by the war and the requisitions.—The property will be sold, and the bons taken in payment. The army is to be maintained, clothed, paid and armed at the expence of the enemy's country, and the following articles required from the occupied provinces:—150,000 pair of shoes, 150,000 coats, 40,000 pair of boots, 150,000 cloaks, 150,000 pair of breeches, 150,000 pair of gaiters, 150,000 leather caps, 100,000 kettles and drinking vessels, 100,000 horse shoes, 3,000 horses, half saddle half draught horses, and four million of francs to make good the arrears of pay. Any one, who as an adherent of Bonaparte, shall in any measure resist the necessary public regulation, shall be immediately arrested, imprisoned, and, according to circumstances, tried by a court-martial, and punished with death. His property shall be confiscated, and added to the Military Fund.

The *Gazette Officielle* contains also several other ordinances of the King, one enforcing the arrangements of the municipality for raising the contributions imposed on the city of Paris for the subsistence of the allied forces, amounting to 9,619,300 francs. One extending to the French navy the provisions of ordinance, putting a stop, through motives of economy, to all military promotions for the space of one year, or till the 1<sup>st</sup> of July, 1816. One dissolving forthwith the select battalions taken from the national guards for active service in the war just terminated; the veteran soldiers who were placed in these battalions are dismissed absolutely, with such pensions as they may be entitled to by former services; and the conscripts of 1815, who also formed part of them, sent to their homes; the officers ordered to their homes. Another ordinance, dated the 20th of July, disbands the free corps (corps francs), formed by Bonaparte, and subjects to trial, by military law, all who may resist this dissolution.



## ARRESTS AND PROSCRIPTIONS IN FRANCE

The Paris Papers of Tuesday contain the annexed Ordinance of the King, enjoining rigorous measures to be adopted against the individuals therein mentioned, who took an active part in the restoration of Napoleon. The *Courier* of last night expresses great "*satisfaction*" at this act of "vigour and justice on the part of Louis XVIII." which, it adds, "will do much towards *strengthening* and *consolidating* the King's power."—We shall see, by and bye, how this system of arrest and proscription will operate.—

## ORDINANCE OF THE KING.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. To all those who shall see these presents, health:—An account has been rendered to us that several Members of the Chambers of Peers have accepted seats in a *soi-disant* Chamber of Peers, named and assembled by the man who had usurped the power in our States, since the 20th March, until our return into the kingdom. It is beyond a doubt that Peers of France, until they are rendered hereditary, have been able and may give in their resignation; for in that, they only dispose of interests that are purely personal to them. It is equally evident, that the acceptance of functions incompatible with the dignity with which one is invested, supposes and carries with it the resignation of that dignity, and in consequence the Peers who are in the situation above-mentioned have really abdicated their rank, and have in fact resigned the Peerage of France. For these causes we have ordered, and do order, what follows:—

Art. 1. Are no longer part of the Chamber of Peers the undermentioned:—

COUNTS — Clement de Ris, Colchen, Cornudet, d'Aboville.

MARSHAL DUKE OF—Dantzick.

COUNTS—De Croix, Dedeley d'Agier,

Dejean, Fabre del'Aude, Cassendi, Eacpede, Latour Maubourg.

DUKES OF—Praslin, Plaisance.

MARSHALS DUKE OF—Elchingen, Albenferra, Cornegliano, Treviso.

COUNTS — de Barral (Archbishop of Tours), Boissy d'Anglas.

DUKE—de Cadore.

COUNTS—de Canclaux, Cassabianca, de Montesquiou, Pontecoulant, Rampon, Segur, Valence, Belliard.

Art. 2. May be excepted however from the above disposition those who shall justify not having sate nor been willing to sit in the *soi-disant* Chamber of Peers, to which they had been called; they taking upon themselves to make that justification in the month following the publication of the present Ordinance. — Castle of the Thuilleries, 24th July, and 21st of our reign, (Signed) LOUIS.

By the King,

(Signed) Prince de TALLEYRAND.

Louis, by the grace of God, &c.—Wishing, by the punishment of an attempt without example, but, graduating the punishment and limiting the number of the guilty, to conciliate the interest of our people, the dignity of our crown, and the tranquillity of Europe, with what we owe to justice and the entire security of all the other citizens without distinction:—We have declared and declare, ordered and order, what follows:—Article 1. The Generals and Officers who have betrayed the King before the 23d of March, or who have attacked France and the Government with arms in their hands, and those who by violence have obtained possession of power, shall be arrested and carried before the competent Councils of War, in their respective Divisions, viz.

Ney, Labedoyere, the two Lallemands, Drouet d'Erlon, Lefebvre Desnouettes, Ameilh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton Duvernet,

Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouet, Cambrone Lavalette, Rovigo.

2. The individuals whose names follow, viz:—

Soult, Alix, Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurth, Mehee, Fressinet, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Peré, Barrere, Arnault, Pommeruil, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Arighi (Padua), Dejean (the son), Garnau, Real, Bouvier Dumoulard, Merlin of Douay, Durbach, Dirat, Defermont, Bory St. Vincent, Felix Desportes, Garnier de Saintes, Mellinet, Hullin, Cluys, Courtin, Forbin Janson (the eldest son), Lorgne Diderville, shall quit the city of Paris in three days, and shall retire into the interior of France, to places which our Minister of General Police shall point out, and where they shall remain under his superintendence, until the Chambers decide upon such among them as shall be sent out of the kingdom, or be delivered over for trial to the Tribunals.

Shall be immediately arrested such as

shall not repair to the place assigned them by our Minister of General Police.

3. The individuals who shall be condemned to quit the kingdom, shall have the faculty to sell their goods and property in the delay of one year, to dispose of it, and to send the produce of the kingdom, and to receive during that time the revenues in foreign countries, furnishing, however, the proof of their obedience to the present ordonnance.

4. The lists of all the individuals to whom the 1st and 2d articles shall be applicable, are, and remain, closed by the nominal designations contained in these articles, and shall never be extended to others, for any causes and under any pretext whatever, other than in the form and according to the constitutional laws, which are expressly departed from for this case alone.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

By the King,

The Minister Secretary of State of General Police,

(Signed) The Duke of OTRANTO.